1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6



village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

| | | Population | | | Births | | | Deaths | | | Natural population increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Births minus deaths |
| Hsin Hsing | 1956 | 302 | 339 | 641 | 17 | 13 | 30 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 25 |
| | 1957 | 312 | 332 | 644 | 16 | 11 | 27 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 23 |
| Pu Yen | 1956 | 13,239 | 13,466 | 26,705 | 654 | 594 | 1,248 | 125 | 121 | 246 | 1,002 |
| | 1957 | 13,441 | 13,784 | 27,225 | 542 | 548 | 1,090 | 127 | 158 | 285 | 805 |

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 35.9 per thousand or 3.59 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1



(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

| | | Number of births per 1000 | Number of deaths per 1000 | Natural rate increase per 1000 | Percent of natural increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hsin Hsing | 1956 | 46.80 | 7.80 | 39.00 | 3.90 |
| | 1957 | 41.93 | 6.21 | 35.72 | 3.57 |
| Pu Yen | 1956 | 46.75 | 9.21 | 37.52 | 3.75 |
| | 1957 | 40.04 | 9.74 | 30.30 | 3.03 |

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

| | Average number of births per 1000 persons | Average number of deaths per 1000 persons | Average natural increase per 1000 persons | Average percent of natural increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Taiwan 1953–1956 | 46.5 | 8.5 | 38.0 | 3.80 |
| Hsin Hsing 1956–1957 | 44.4 | 7.0 | 37.4 | 3.74 |
| Pu Yen 1956–1957 | 43.4 | 9.5 | 33.9 | 3.39 |

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
TAIWAN AD6
FORMOSA AD1



of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

| | 1953 | 1954 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 25,089 | 25,960 | 26,705 | 27,225 | 27,481 |
| Number of households | 4,476 | 4,523 | 4,665 | 4,705 | 4,715 |
| Average number of persons per household | 5.61 | 5.74 | 5.72 | 5.79 | 5.83 |

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN
(from Barclay, 1954a)

| Ages | Percentages for 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1953 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–14 | 41.0 | 44.2 | 41.3 | 42.2 |
| 15–39 | 39.0 | 37.3 | 40.8 | 39.8 |
| 40–64 | 17.5 | 15.8 | 15.4 | 15.5 |
| 65 and over | 2.5 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.5 |

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[13] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1



ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6



[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

*Chapter 5: Family and Kinship*

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for